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THE HISTORY OF EARLY EDUCATION

HELLENIC EDUCATION—*continued.*

CHAPTER IV.

ATHENIAN AND IONIC-ATTIC EDUCATION.

Music.

Music that is to say the chanting and singing of songs was, I am disposed to think, the primary basis of Greek literary education. It was common to the Doric and Ionic races. And I should not be surprised if it was the musician, as being the traditional channel for ballad and lyrical literature, who first (in the earliest times) added reading and writing to his ordinary instructions. The functions of the music teacher and the *Grammatist* were afterwards separated. For a considerable period, however, if not always, the music instruction was given in the same buildings as the literary instruction.

In the special music course, which did not begin, it would appear, till the 13th year, the Athenian youth were taught by the *Kitharist* to play on musical instruments, especially the lyre, a seven stringed instrument.* For a time, after the Persian wars, instruction was also given on the flute which became very fashionable, the name being given to any instrument played with the mouth, such for example as our flageolet. It was this instrument which was popular in Boeotia. Plutarch relates that Alcibiades refused to play on the flute partly on account of the contortions of the face to which it gave rise, partly because he who played it could neither speak nor sing while so doing, and that he also begat in others a most decided aversion to the instrument, which on this account fell at last into thorough contempt. The true cause, however, of its falling into disuse was probably the shrill and exciting character of the music it produced and the impossibility of accompanying the music with the voice. The Greek flute had not the soft sentimental tones of the modern flute. The object of this musical instruction was educational, but also to en-

* The *Kithara* was more of a professional instrument.

able all to take part in religious services and in friendly social entertainments. Music, says Aristotle, B. V., was introduced by our forefathers for the "rational enjoyment of leisure".

The boys were instructed in verse-making (Schmidt) and in the art of rhythm and melody, and their ear trained to a feeling of the measure. This would be necessary to good elocution. The Greeks believed that in this way the spirit of the young was elevated, and that they became rhythmical and harmonious in mind and manner. At the same time table-songs were learned by heart with a view to increasing the pleasure of social meetings. These songs pithily and wittily enforced homely sentiments and the principles of morality, patriotism, and worldly wisdom. The Doric strain (a minor scale) was that usually adopted for such purposes and they gave it the preference because it was characterized by a dignified repose, and more than any other, seemed to give expression to high spirit and to manliness. The soft and voluptuous Lydian measure (a major scale) was denounced as immoral in its tendency, while the Phrygian (also a minor scale) was passionate.* In the earliest stage of instruction the *Kitharist* dictated to the children simple songs, which they were required to learn by heart. Then they had to learn the sustained and chaunt-like airs, to which they were set. One of the first poems which they learned, is said to have been:

"Pallas, dread destroyer of cities,
Thou war-din-raising-goddess,
Holy, enemy-averting daughter of Jove,
I call on thee,
Horse-taming, noblest virgin."

The boys were not meant to attain professional skill in singing and playing; their musical ability was only to be so far developed as to enable them when grown up to take part in choruses and sing the table-songs, etc. This was the direct practical aim of the instruction under the *Kitharist*; but the main purpose of teaching music was unquestionably to produce harmony and balance of soul as well as poetical literature; for the music teaching was never dissociated from verses—lyric poems or hymns. "The poetry and music together formed a single work

* Prof. Mahaffy has a very interesting chapter on Music as a branch of Greek education.

of art." In the *Protagoras* Plato says: "They make rhythm and harmony familiar to the souls of boys that they may grow more gentle and graceful and harmonious, and so be of service both in words and deeds; for the whole life of man stands in need of grace and harmony." And Aristotle and Plutarch utter similar sentiments; and to these we may add Polybius. That the aim of music-teaching was ethical is further shown by the stress which both Aristotle and Plato lay on the importance of the State controlling school-music in order to secure sound moral results.

It was always, indeed, the education of mind and body as a unity which the Athenian kept constantly in view—not technical facility in any art whatsoever. "To be always in quest of what is useful," says Aristotle, "is not becoming to high-minded men and freemen." Even as regards gymnastic and music the "professional" was not highly esteemed. Plutarch says that when Alexander played and sang on one occasion with particular skill, his father Philip said "Are you not ashamed to play so well?"

As we now see "the mental culture was but plain and simple, yet it took hold of the entire man; and this all the more deeply and thoroughly because the youthful mind was not distracted by a multiplicity of subjects and could therefore more closely devote itself to the mental food and to the materials of culture offered to it." (*Curtius. History II*, 416.)

The young Greek had a rich literature to draw on. For so small a people the literary materials of national education were extraordinarily various and abundant. To Homer is generally assigned the date of about 1000 years before Christ and he is closely followed by Hesiod, while the number of unnamed rhapsodists and handers down of national traditions of religion and conduct and heroism must have been great. This class of poetry generally gives place, as society becomes more organized, to verses inculcating a homely philosophy. But these poets of worldly wisdom were preceded in the seventh century before Christ by elegiac and lyrical poets—a natural development of the heroic rhapsodist and religious hymn-writer. (Callinus, Archilochus, Tyrtæus, Alcman, and Sappho.) The sixth century is especially the period of gnomic or ethical poetry—Solon, Theognis, Phokylides, and the sayings of the Wise men. At the end of this century and the beginning of the fifth we have again the lyrical poets

Anacreon and Pindar; and about the same period, tragedy—a combination and evolution of the gnomic, the heroic, and choral lyric—was firmly established by Æschylus. In education as indeed in public life the poets were regarded as teachers of wisdom and as moral guides. The end of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century also saw the rise of speculative philosophy which reached its highest point in the end of the sixth, the whole currency of the fifth and the fourth centuries B. C. Oratory also reached its highest and finest development in the fifth. I mention these things, because it is impossible for us to understand the literary side of Greek education without realizing the immense mass of literary material by means of which the education could be conducted—literary material existing more or less (but always growing from generation to generation in quantity and excellence) for 500, if not 600, years before the birth of Plato in 430 B. C. During all this period too the religion of the Greeks in its more elementary and popular forms was a living force.

Modes of procedure have been occasionally adverted to above in their proper place. As regards method generally, there was none consciously thought out. The teacher pointed to a letter and named it and the boy named it after him. He said pieces of poetry line by line to the boy and they were repeated until they had been acquired. The whole process was a *telling* on one side and learning by heart on the other; but explanations were given and asked. When manuscripts became more common the master's work would be lightened and the boy's independent activity stimulated. There were of course no home lessons. Everything was done in school. Any one could teach on these terms who had the necessary patience. Teaching consequently was a humble occupation—not a profession. I have already said that, so far as we can learn, the pupils came up in turn to say their lesson to the master. Questions of classification and school organization had not arisen. It is impossible to believe, however, that pieces of poetry were not learned collectively as was the multiplication table to a kind of monotonous chaunt.

(d) *Gymnastic.*

About the eighth year apparently, the physical education was begun with gymnastic exercises under the *Paedotribe* (gymnastic-

master) after preparation had already been made for it by means of easy games in the paternal home. After the age of fourteen or fifteen, gymnastic took precedence of literary instruction. It is doubtful whether the gymnastic instruction began at the same time as the music instruction or after some progress had been made in literary subjects.

The *Paedotribe*, as I have said, was not appointed by the State. Like the teacher of the day-school he opened a *palæstra* or wrestling school; but he was in all cases under State-supervision and subject to certain State-regulations, which had in view mainly the moral demeanor of the boys. The *Paedotribe* himself gave the gymnastic instruction, but there were present also in the arena, the moral superintendent or Censor, who had the oversight of morals, and the anointers, who arranged and superintended the dietetic regimen, and anointed or saw to the anointment of the body with oil, which after exercise had to be scraped off. The gymnastic exercises had in Athens for their object the discipline of the body with a view to giving it a healthy development and a noble carriage. The *palæstra* was reserved for boys and the *gymnasium* for the ephebi (youths of eighteen years) and full-grown men. Plato and the Athenians generally looked with most favour on games which gave room for the exhibition of the moral qualities of spirit, (or as we would say, pluck,) and intelligence—mere animal force being regarded as of comparatively small account.

The exercises were graduated from the easier to the more difficult, and aimed at forming the body in all its stages of development. During the exercises the boys were arranged in two or three divisions. These were united at festivals, especially at the *Hermaea*. Lively games, especially the game with ball, appear to have been first taken up; also exercises in swimming were practised very early.* Among the first exercises were, standing on tip-toe, while performing certain active movements of the arms; jumping; hanging and climbing on the rope; holding a weight

* On this point Professor Mahaffy, I notice, throws doubt. Why he does so, I cannot understand, as swimming is especially mentioned in the earliest laws. There is also a common phrase applied to an uneducated man, "he can neither swim nor say his alphabet." (See also Krause p. 100 for an apt authority.)

with extended arms; the simple race; boxing, wrestling, etc. After sufficient training, more advanced exercises were undertaken. There was a contest called the *Pentathlon*, in which five exercises performed in succession by the same person were included, viz.: leaping, running, throwing the discus, throwing the spear, and wrestling. This had a place even at the Olympic games. The *pancratium*, in which wrestling and boxing together, and the use of feet as well as hands was allowed, seems to have been tolerated, but was reserved for the elder boys; and, always at Athens, under certain regulations which distinguished it from the *pancratium* of the professional athlete. In the *palaestra*, attention was paid to the deportment of the boys, and the rod was as little spared here as under the *Kitharist*.* At one time music was associated with gymnastic exercises. Our recently introduced musical drill is consequently only a revival.

Dancing formed part of the physical training; but by dancing was not meant the rhythmical movement of the feet alone but of the whole body: and this to music. But this exercise, admirable as it is, did not form part of the regular training of the young Athenian. Thorough training in dancing was confined to the trained choral bands who performed at festivals and in the temple and theatre. These dances cultivated that grace and delicacy of movement to which the Athenian had already in himself a natural bent. Indeed it was of common knowledge in the ancient world that even a poor Athenian citizen distinguished himself among all other men by his easy carriage and graceful bearing. The dances were of various kinds, religious, warlike, and Corybantean. Popular dances were also handed down in which all took part, but (as I have said above) the training in dancing was not a part of the regular education,† though what we now call "musical drill" was practised.

The ephebi—youths of eighteen years (now of age and capable of bearing arms) no longer attended the *palaestra* but the gymnasium, and received here instruction from the Gymnast (a trainer

* The proportion of time given to the *palaestra* and the day-school is not known, nor is it quite certain at what hours of the day the *palaestra* was chiefly frequented. It is understood, however, that it was visited twice a day, in the morning before breakfast and again before sunset.

† Ussing, however, seems to think it was.

of professional athletes) and other teachers.* Full-grown men also were expected to continue the exercises, which as boys and youths they had practised. And on occasion of sacrifices at the *Panathenæa*—special wrestling matches were arranged for them.

It is to the ephebic instruction in the gymnasia that Lucian refers in the following passage (in the Dialogue *Anacharsis*): “ We teach them likewise to run races, which makes them swift of foot and prevents their being out of breath; the course, moreover, is not on solid ground, but in a deep sand, where the foot can never be firm, but slips away from beneath them: we exercise them likewise in leaping over ditches, with leaden weights in their hands and teach them to throw darts at a great distance: you must have seen also in the gymnasium a brass thing like a small shield, round and without a handle or strings, you took one up, I remember, and thought it very heavy, and so smooth that you could not hold it; this they throw up into the air, or straight forwards, contending who shall cast it farthest; this strengthens the shoulders and gives the limbs their full power and agility. As to the dust and dirt, which seemed to you so ridiculous, I will tell you why we have so much of it; in the first place we do it that the combatants may not hurt themselves on the ground, but fall soft and without danger; and secondly, because, when they grow wet in the mud and look like so many eels, as you called them, it lubricates the limbs; it is therefore neither useless nor ridiculous, but promotes strength and agility, by obliging them to hold one another with all their might, to prevent their slipping away: add to this, that to lift up a man who is anointed with oil and rolled in the mud besides is not easy.”

(e) *Moral Education.*

An ideal aim and a moral purpose ran through the whole Athenian education. Lucian thus sums up the teaching which the young Athenian received:—“ We commit our children first to the care of mothers, nurses, and schoolmasters to instruct them prop-

*The precise distinction between the *palæstra* and the *gymnasium* is matter of debate, but I have given the general conclusion. It would appear that in the later period of Greek history the distinction was not observed as in the earlier. As to the age of the ephebus some say eighteen and some seventeen. It probably varied.

erly in their early years; but as soon as they begin to understand what is right and good, when fear, shame, and emulation spring up in their minds, we then employ them in studies of a different kind, and inure their bodies to labour by exercises that will increase their strength and vigour; we do not rest content with that power of mind and body which nature has endowed them with, but endeavour to improve it by education, which renders the good qualities that are born with us more conspicuous, and changes the bad into better; following the example of the husbandman who shelters and hedges round the plant, whilst it is low and tender; but when it has gained strength and thickness, takes away the unnecessary support, and by leaving it open to the wind and weather, increases its growth and fertility. We teach them, therefore, first, music and arithmetic, to write letters, and to read aloud clearly and distinctly; as they grow older, we give the maxims, sayings and opinions of the wise men, and the work of the ancients, generally in verse, as easier for the memory: when they read of the great and noble actions thus recorded, they are struck with admiration, and a desire of imitating them, ambitious of being themselves distinguished, admired, and celebrated by the poets of future ages as their predecessors were by Homer and Hesiod." (Anacharsis.)

Again in Plato's *Protagoras* we find a better account of the training of the young Athenian than any that could be constructed by the collection of many passages from Greek authors; and from it we shall see that in his view the aim throughout was a moral one—an aim to be attained through literature and music.

"Education," he says, "and admonition commence in the very first years of childhood, and last to the very end of life. Mother and nurse and father and tutor are quarrelling about the improvement of the child as soon as ever he is able to understand them; he cannot say or do anything without their setting forth to him that this is just and that is unjust; that this is honourable, that is dishonourable; this is holy, that is unholy; do this and abstain from that. And if he obeys, well and good, if not, he is straightened by threats and blows, like a piece of warped wood. At a later stage they send him to teachers and enjoin them to see to his manners even more than to his reading and music; and the teachers do as they are desired. And when the boy has

learned his letters and is beginning to understand what is written, as before he understood only what was spoken, they put into his hands the works of great poets, which he reads at school; in these are contained many admonitions and many tales, and praises and encomia of ancient and famous men, which he is required to learn by heart, in order that he may imitate and emulate them and desire to become like them. Then, again, the teachers of the lyre take similar care that their young disciple is steady and gets into no mischief; and when they have taught him the use of the lyre, they introduce him to the works of other excellent poets, who are the lyric poets; and these they set to music, and make their harmonies and rhythms quite familiar to the children, in order that they may learn to be more gentle and harmonious and rhythmical, and so more fitted for speech and action; for the life of man in every part has need of harmony and rhythm. Then they send them to the master of gymnastics, in order that their bodies may better minister to the virtuous mind and that the weakness of their bodies may not force them to play the coward in war or on any other occasion. This is what is done by those who have the means, and those who have the means are the rich. Their children begin education soonest and leave off latest. When they have done with masters the State again compels them to learn the laws, and live after the pattern which they furnish, and not after their own fancies; and just as in learning to write, the writing-master first draws lines with a *stylus* for the use of the young beginner, and gives him the tablet and makes him follow the lines, so the city draws the laws which were the invention of good law-givers which were of old time; these are given to the young man in order to guide him in his conduct whether as ruler or ruled; and he that transgresses them is to be corrected or called to account, which is a term used not only in your country, but in many others.”*

According to Plato and Lucian then, the moral training of the young Athenian was never lost sight of. The learning by heart of noble passages from the poets and the whole of the music-instruction (in its narrower sense) had the ethical for its aim in the large sense of that term, including æsthetic. Homer

* Translation taken from Mahaffy on Greek Education, p. 37.

and the poets generally were looked upon as text-books of morality and wisdom. In truth, the mind of the Athenian child was educated almost wholly by means of poetry and music.

To manners also, which are the outward expression of feelings there was much attention paid both in the family, in the street, and in the school. Grace and becomingness of manner was called, as you remember, *eukosmia*, and throughout the whole Hellenic world stood side by side with the other two aims of education—*sophrosyne* and *arete*:—this threefold aim being pursued by means of a well-devised training in music and gymnastic. But in the boy the Greeks did not expect to find this harmonious, self-balanced life: he had to be educated to it. The chief virtue of the boy was reverence for his elders, modesty of demeanour and a keen susceptibility to praise and blame.

As a result of all this we find that not only a refined and active intelligence but also grace of manner and refinement of speech specially distinguished the Athenian Greek. Even down to the time of Lucian we have evidence of this. Cicero *de Orat.* III, 11. refers to it and particularly mentions the sound of the voice and the sweetness of speaking in a genuine Athenian. So does Quintilian, I think.

(f) *Advanced Education.*

The Ephebi.—The higher education of the Greeks centres in the gymnasium. The gymasia were State-supported institutions and, in addition to a managing president, there was a moral overseer or *Sophronist* and many subordinate officers. The ephebi continued to frequent them regularly and go through more difficult gymnastic than in their earlier years. Both the moral and gymnastic training may be said to have received their completion in the service in the militia (or State-police) (beginning about the age of eighteen) when among other duties, (especially the practice of gymnastic exercises), the youths had to camp out or occupy fortresses and patrol the frontier for two years. It was a military service and was at first compulsory. The youths were liable to foreign service, only after its completion. It certainly, for manifest social reasons, must have been a great burden on many classes of citizens, and in the later days of the Macedonian rule (340 B. C.) it became voluntary and consequently aristocratic.

When they entered on this ephebic training (also as we have seen practised among the Spartans) the Athenian youths, now eighteen years of age, were formally admitted to citizenship, before the assembled citizens and presented with a shield and spear. They took the following oath in the temple of Athene: (Grasberger III, 61.) "I will not bring dishonour to these holy weapons and will not desert the comrade who stands side by side with me, whoever he may be. For the holy places and for the laws I will fight singly and with others. I will leave my country not in a worse but in a better condition by sea and land than I have received it. I will willingly and at all times submit to the judges and to the established ordinances, also not allow that anyone should infringe thereon, or not give due obedience. I will reverence the ancestral worship. Let the gods be witnesses of this!"* Their names were now entered on the citizen-roll of the Phratria to which they belonged, and they now in the fullest sense belonged to the State.

The education of the Athenian Greek did not end here. All his life long he was instructed by the public drama, by the contentions and rivalries of civic life, by the great festivals, which were frequent and stimulating, by the superabounding development of native art and by the public literary contests which began at an early date in their history and stirred the ambition of youths while moulding the life of maturer men.

The civic life above all which often stirred questions in which the whole of the Hellenic states were involved gave a daily education to all citizens. A polity is an education, says Plato.

Whatever might be disregarded, gymnastic was never forgotten. It was indeed in connexion with the gymnasia that sophistical and philosophic teaching began, in the later half of the 5th century B. C., as we shall see. As places of common resort they were analogous to the modern club but combined with this the freedom of the market place and the attractions of a public park, adorned with statues of the gods. "*Studia sapientiae*," says Quintilian, speaking of the early imperial times in Rome, XII, II, 8, " * *

* There are slight variations both of the words and translation of this oath. I give what seems best. Some put the taking of this oath after and not before the ephebic training. There can be little doubt that it was taken at about the age of eighteen, even before the word *ephebus* as a specific and technical term was in use.

in porticus et gymnasia primum, mox in conventus scholarum recesserunt." The Athenian gymnasia of the Academy and the Lyceum gave names to the two great schools of Plato and Aristotle. And later the philosophic schools were themselves sometimes called gymnasia.*

I have already in the earlier part of these lectures on Greek education shown you the meaning of this gymnastic training, and its purpose. It was so important an element in Hellenic education that I shall now add the words of Lucian: "Thus do we exercise our youth, hoping by these means to render them the guardians of our city and supporters of the commonweal, that they will defend our liberties, conquer our enemies, and make us feared and respected by all around us: in peace they become better subjects, are above anything that is base and do not run into vice and debauchery from idleness, but spend their leisure in these useful employments. Our young men are thus prepared for peace and war." And again elsewhere, "Out of the gymnastic struggles another more noble contention springs amongst all the members of the community, and a crown is bestowed, not of pine, of olive, or of parsley, but one with which is wreathed public happiness and private liberty, the ancient rites and ceremonies, the wealth, honour and glory of our country, the safety of every man's property with every good and noble gift we wish from the gods. With that crown these are all inwoven and to this all our toils and labours lead." It was to the religious practices of the home and the great public festivals that the growing youth owed the continued cultivation of the religious sentiment.

I am speaking of the period up to about the middle of the 5th century B. C. Up to that date there is no evidence that the higher education involved study of any kind except for a few of a philosophic turn of mind. The higher education was gymnastic, in so far as it was defined. A retrospect will satisfy us that neither in school nor during the ephебic period had the Athenian a hard time. In the school up to the date given above there was not even geometry, geography, or drawing. The life both of the boy and the youth was easy, and by the help of the slave-system which relieved him from sordid material claims on his energies, he

* Hence in modern times in Germany (and occasionally in medieval times) a gymnasium is the designation of a higher school.

was able to live a more unencumbered life than was, perhaps, altogether good for him. It was, however, always life; and owing to the peculiar genius of the people a life full of interest, freshness, and intellectual as well as bodily activity.

(g) *School and Home-Discipline.*

The school discipline was severe. The rod was freely used both in the literary, music, and gymnastic training. It is not till the times of Seneca and Quintilian, so far as I know, that we find any protest against corporal chastisement, unless we take the remark of Plato, Rep. VII, 536, as such a protest:—"In the case of the mind, no study pursued under compulsion remains rooted in the memory. Hence you must train children to their studies in a playful manner and without any air of constraint." It is not to be supposed that even after Seneca and Quintilian the severity of punishment was lessened. The Greeks and Romans, and after them Christian teachers throughout the middle ages and down to very recent times, associated teaching with flogging as a kind of inevitable necessity.

But I commend this to your attention that schoolmasters were held of small account. Nor do I believe it possible that while this class of the community are properly represented as holding a book in one hand and a cane in the other they can ever stand high in social estimation. It is only when we find a high conception of their social functions as essentially a spiritual function to be discharged by the employment of spiritual motives animating teachers themselves, that the rod will be regarded as degrading and the community begin to accord to schoolmasters that respect which then, but only then, will rightfully belong to them. And why? Because then and only then will they work for the intellect through the intellect, for the moral nature through the moral nature. A resort to physical force is to be regarded as a sign of weakness in the educator.

The domestic discipline was more severe than we should expect from the general character of the Athenians, but it is an additional confirmation of the importance they attached to moral training. Strict attention was paid to the little acts of life, such as the manner of sitting at table and of eating. Their manner of taking salt and bread was regulated. Even when the boys had

reached their eighteenth year they were held under strict subordination to their parents, and their demeanour in the streets was prescribed. Modesty of demeanour, respect to older men, and a general becomingness of conduct was strictly imposed, not only on boys, but young men. Both at home and at school and in the palæstra the rod was freely used.

(h) *Education of the Women.*

The women had no school education. It was wholly domestic. The room in which they and their children lived was generally on the upper floor, to which they were mostly confined, except on great festival occasions. Even in the case of young girls the hair was dyed and the eyebrows painted. There would of course be necessarily more freedom among the poorer classes, but even less education. At popular festivals the maidens walked in procession and danced choral dances.* On other occasions the girls were confined to the house, and therefore the Athenian women were for the most part weak, pale figures. The mother gave them instruction in all feminine occupations, in spinning, sewing, weaving, knitting, etc. They sometimes learned a little reading and writing from their mothers, and singing and playing on the lyre. "Special emphasis," says Schmidt, "was in the case of the girl laid on moral training: propriety of conduct, chastity and purity were the most beautiful womanly virtues, and domestic thrift, as well as judicious management of the household the finest womanly qualities." Woman accordingly had not that social and political influence in Athens which she had in Sparta. Their position was little better than that of an oriental wife. Marriages were contracts arranged by parents. The wife had no part even in social entertainments. When her husband had guests she was not allowed to be present at the dinner she had prepared.

Position of the Schoolmaster.—The day-school-master did not take a high position. Demosthenes (*De Corona*, 258) taunts his great rival with having had to help his father to clean out the

*At the so-called Bear-festival, says Schmidt, (*Brauronia*) girls between 5 and 10 years of age were every five years consecrated to Artemis, while sacrifices were offered and a passage from the *Iliad* read—a consecration which was meant to be the symbolic commemoration of a pure virginity.

school when he was a boy and evidently regards the work of a primary teacher as a very humble one indeed. "As a boy," he says (*De Corona*, 258), "you were reared in abject poverty, waiting with your father on the school, grinding the ink, sponging the benches, sweeping the room, doing the duty of a menial rather than of a freeman's son." There was no public qualification for the office of schoolmaster, and hence, chiefly, his low social status. It was the refuge of the distressed. Lucian, long after the palmy days of Athenian education, condemns tyrants sent to the nether world to be beggars or primary schoolmasters. Accordingly it is absurd to suppose that the aim which the Athenian mind had before it in the education of the young was effectually carried out in the schools. The aim and general method we know—the results were doubtless often disappointing. The Family and the State after all were the chief educators. Only the children of those who fell in battle were educated at the expense of the State. It is only when the State takes up education as a national concern that teachers receive proper remuneration and only when they are professionally trained that they have any status. It appears from an inscription that at Teos there was an endowment for a staff of teachers in the 3d century B. C.* This endowment provided for girls as well as boys.

School Houses.—The school-buildings were not of State origin. The literary, musical, and gymnastic teaching of boys were all given in the houses or rooms provided by the adventure teachers. The gymnasia for the ephebi and grown men were, however, provided at the public expense. There were large enclosures planted with trees and adorned with gardens and shrubberies, monuments, temples, fountains, &c. In the 5th century there were three, the Academy, the Cynosarges, and the Lyceum. They served, as I have already said, the purposes of modern clubs as well as exercising grounds, and also in the course of time they were schools of philosophy and rhetoric.

School holidays and festivals are frequently referred to by the ancients: and what with public festivals to which the Athenians were much addicted and the smaller school festivals, the Athenian boy had an easy time of it.

* See *Girard, L'Education Athenienne* with references.

Contrast Between Athenian and Spartan Education.

The education of the Hellene generally was an education, as we have seen, in gymnastic and music—music comprehending the literary and moral training as well as music in its narrower sense. In gymnastic, including the training to physical endurance generally, the Spartan was much more severe than the Athenian. The Athenian was thinking more of the perfect development of the body and the maintenance of health; the Spartan more of making the body serviceable for the hardest tasks that could be imposed on it. Both, however, had in view the moral control to which good gymnastic training contributes. The Bœotians, again, carried gymnastic into athletics to such an extent as to be hurtful to the bodily growth. Neither the Spartan nor Athenian gymnastic, however, is to be compared with our modern British training by means of organised play. In our games both physical and moral ends are gained in a way which was, I believe, quite beyond the reach of the Greek system, and which fulfils Plato's aim.

In Music, again, the Spartan, as we have seen, was educated, but only in the narrow and modern sense of the word music: religious and national chants, metrical laws, choral songs, and heroic ballads being however taught and indeed largely practised. The Athenian did all this, but, over and above, he acquired skill on a musical instrument, and he carried out musical education in its larger and literary sense of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The study of the national literature and the cultivation of the literary taste by school recitations and by the public drama, were all attended to. The instrument of the education of mind among the Athenians, in brief, was literature, and this chiefly in the form of poetry. The Athenian education was (to use a modern expression) humanistic, and had a very direct connection with the intellectual life of the boy when he became a full grown man. The Spartan education was ethical (in a very narrow sense) and conservative, resting on law and custom as sacred, and admitting of no development.

The Spartan had a narrow and definite aim; the Athenian's aim, though never losing sight of the State, was broad as humanity itself. Reading and writing in so far as they existed at Sparta were esteemed only in so far as they were "useful". The Athenian view on the other hand is well expressed in the already cited re-

mark of Aristotle: "To be always in search of the useful by no means befits men who are magnanimous and who are free-men." "Give the fellow half a drachma, and let him be gone," called out Euclid to his slave, when a pupil asked what advantage he would gain by mathematical study. To pursue even music with a view to being an expert and not in the interests of a liberal education was *baneful*. The Spartan trained the citizen, the Athenian trained the man. Hence in all the arts which adorned human life the Athenians were great. They are still the masters of the modern world. After the school period was over the education of the citizen went on, for it was a mere continuation of the work of the school. The drama, sculpture, architecture, painting surrounded his daily life with the noblest ideals. "We carry them," says Lucian in his *Anacharsis*, "to comedies and tragedies at our theatre that whilst they behold the virtues and vices of past times, they may themselves be attached to the one and avoid the other; permitting our comic writers to expose and ridicule the citizens; and this we do, as well for their sakes who may grow better by seeing themselves laughed at as for that of the spectators in general who may thus escape, being ridiculed, the like absurdities." Thus was Athens throughout the life of each man a perpetual school in the best sense of that word, and not in the Spartan one. In the speech of Pericles, part of which we quoted in the introduction, he is constantly contrasting Athens and Sparta, and the contrast in their lives we see repeated in their processes of education.

Note further that the Athenian was a free and voluntary system, the State merely supervising and laying down general rules, while guarding the morals of the palæstra and gymnasium. In the laws ascribed to Solon are found injunctions to all parents to educate their children, and also certain rules for the schools, but these are all of a merely regulative character.

The Spartan system was a State-system—compulsory and gratuitous. Herein lies the explanation of its being so hardfast and inelastic. All are cast in one mould; so must it always be with over-centralized administration. This has always to be resisted by a country which prizes freedom and variety of culture.

Sparta took possession of the young citizen at the age of seven; Athens only at the ephebic age of eighteen.

When we reflect on the past historical survey we cannot but be deeply impressed by the contrast of East and West.

The concentration of power among oriental nations (including the Egyptians) led also to a concentration of the wealth of these countries and to all the consequent pomp and luxury. Hence a material civilization accompanied by a religious belief which was in its popular form a gross superstition. Among the Hellenic races we first find ourselves in the current of a life with higher aims both national and individual. Here first we find a people living under political conditions which favoured intellectual activity and personal ambition. We breathe the atmosphere of liberty—an atmosphere essential to the life of mind. We also find a religion which, spite of the traditional tales about the gods, was an æsthetic idealism and intensely human. But it is a superficial conclusion that the favourable conditions made the Greeks: the political and social conditions were themselves part of the expression of the Hellenic spirit. Let me add that for the maintenance of this spirit they relied on the proper upbringing of youth. In nothing were Greek writers more at one than on the necessity of the education of the young with a view to a life worth living and to the security of the State. Plato says (Legg. VII, 808.), "A boy is the most difficult of all animals to bring under government and guidance," and even after all that was done, the ethical result, as we know, was not always very satisfactory.

I have endeavoured to place before you the distinctive characteristics of the education of the two great Hellenic types. It has only now to be noted that after the death of Alexander the Great, Hellenic education all round the Mediterranean had more characteristics in common than in earlier times and that the Ionic-Attic idea governed, although at Sparta many of the old customs survived for long after.

I have been exhibiting the general aim and current of Hellenic education only. It is scarcely necessary to guard the reader against concluding that always and everywhere in the Hellenic cities this aim was consciously pursued, or, that even in the most favourable circumstances, it was realized. Even in the golden age of Socrates we have complaints of a degeneracy from a level of education which was probably never reached. The well-known

locus classicus in Aristophanes gives expression to these complaints; but we ought never to attach too much importance to the criticisms of professed satirists or humorists.

“I prepare,” he says, “myself to speak
Of manner primitive and that good time
Which I have seen, when discipline prevailed,
And modesty was sanctioned by the laws.
No babbling then was suffered in the school
The scholars text was silence. The whole group
In orderly procession sallied forth
Right onwards, without straggling, to attend
Their teacher in harmonics: though the snow
Fell on them thick as meal, the hardy brood
Breasted the storm uncloaked. Their harps were strung
Not to ignoble strains, for they were taught
A loftier key, whether to chaunt the name
Of Pallas terrible amidst the blaze
Of cities overthrown; or wide and far to spread,
As custom was, the echoing peal.”

I shall now speak briefly of the higher education of the few in the 5th century B. C., and thereafter.

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